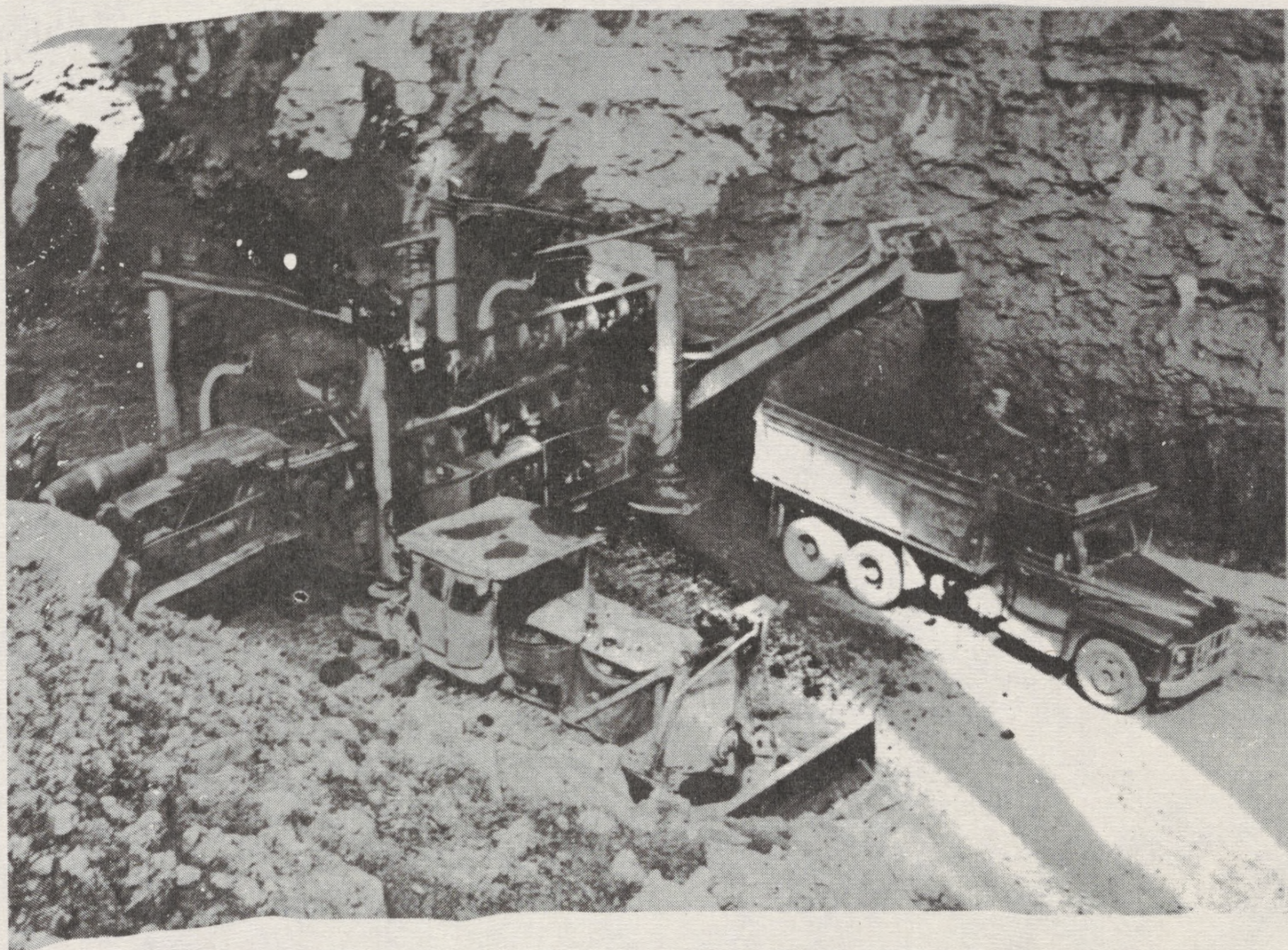


PICKING POVERTY'S POCKET

Barry Barkan

R. Baldwin Lloyd

20¢



Abstract The purpose of this study was to determine whether there were differences in the prevalence of risk factors for low back pain between two groups of nurses working in different departments of a tertiary care hospital. A cross-sectional study was conducted among 100 nurses who worked in the intensive care unit (ICU) and 100 nurses who worked in the medical-surgical department. Data were collected from a questionnaire that included information about demographic characteristics, work-related variables, and self-reported symptoms. Results showed that the prevalence of low back pain was higher among ICU nurses than among medical-surgical nurses. The prevalence of risk factors for low back pain was also higher among ICU nurses than among medical-surgical nurses. The results suggest that the prevalence of low back pain and its associated risk factors are higher among ICU nurses than among medical-surgical nurses.





photos:

cover

D. R. Stevens

p. 2

Louisville Courier-J

p. 3

Ed Dupuy, Jr.

p. 4

Pittsburgh Press

p. 6

Ken Murray

p. 8

Jeanne Rasmussen

APPALACHIAN MOVEMENT PRESS

P. O. Box 8074

Huntington, West Virginia 25705



Other Pamphlets by AMP:

West Virginia Wonderland by William Blizzard

A Time For Anger - - poems by Don West

Poverty and Affluence in Appalachia by Harry Caudill

Paint Creek Miner

Famous Labor Songs From Appalachia by Charles Patterson

Romantic Appalachia

or Poverty Pays if You Ain't Poor by Don West

Write for subscription information.



. . . the rolling hills . . .

Picking Poverty's Pocket

BARRY BARKAN
R. BALDWIN LLOYD

Willie Vest doesn't know much about colonialism.

He sees things pretty well, knows who is his friend and who isn't. But he views the world in simple terms.

At 61 and retired, he is content to sit on the porch of his weathered mountain shanty in Southwest Virginia's Dickinson County and scrawl long, rambling "writings" about his youth, the love he harbors for his childhood sweetheart who is now his wife, his yearning for the "New Jerusalem," and the Lord's good works.

Like most of the people who have spent their lives in

Reprinted from:

Article One

A Magazine For The New Virginia

the ridges and hollows of the Appalachian mountains, Willie looks a good number of years older than his age.

But, he writes, "you're as young as your faith and as old as your despair." By Willie's yardstick, he says he is young.

When not writing, Willie Vest works in his large vegetable garden or helps his wife with the chores. The rest of the time, he sits on the porch and watches the miners go by—clean-faced in the morning as they head for work, black-faced when the day is done.

Occasionally, a neighbor will stop by and chat. Willie relishes these moments.

"O Lord, let me live by the side of the road and be a friend to man," one of his writings says.

And that is what he tries to do. In his shanty, which



1999

1999

1999

1999

1999



. . . become a picked carcass . . .

has no running water, he has a huge pile of literature he has collected from various state and federal welfare agencies. If any of his neighbors runs up against a bureaucratic stumbling block, Willie is equipped to help him out.

During one such dealing with the authorities, he had a run-in with a deputy sheriff. But it didn't come to much. Willie, who weighs about 140 pounds soaking wet, says he was ready, though.

"I don't mean no offense. But I'm a peace-loving man and I won't let them push it on me," he said after the incident. "I'm like a mule. I'd let them push me to the edge. But I'm not going no further."

Willie Vest knows that billions of dollars' worth of coal is taken yearly from the Appalachian region and

the money never finds its way back.

"My nest has been robbed so many times. They have many times attempted to kill the golden goose . . . and take all the gold at once," he writes. "It has never mattered to them that we were bent, or they never cared for the God sent, just so the coal went."

He doesn't know exactly who it is who robbed his nest so many times. He knows it is not his neighbors: they're poor too. So, he figures it must be the companies that mine the coal. But he doesn't know who the coal people are beyond his own immediate mountains.

And he has little conception of the extent to which the companies have plundered the region or the extent to which they maintain a colonial dominion in Appalachia.

Kentucky mountain writer and lawyer, Harry Caudill, has a better idea of what it is about. He calls Appalachia "the last unchallenged stronghold of western colonialism."

In this case, the colonizer that rapes the natural resources and saps the spirit of the people is not another nation, but a handful of coal, railroad, and labor barons.

The net effect is the same. The enormous wealth which could have made a so-called "depressed area" prosperous continues to be pumped out of the region.

The rich green mountains are littered and ravaged of their natural beauty. The streams are so polluted, they are scarcely fit to produce a good batch of corn whiskey. For many, abject poverty and the dole are a new way of life. Brought up to believe in the dignity of work and the measure of redemption that comes at the end of the day when they go to bed exhausted from their task, they are now demoralized by the joblessness which is the legacy of coal-mine mechanization.

The old way of life is irretrievably lost in the onslaught of the kind of progress that milks a region dry while denying the natives the opportunity to control their own life styles.

The colonization of Appalachia was not brought about by a haphazard historical accident. Almost 100 years ago, John Daniel Imboden, a former Confederate general, went before the General Assembly and told the lawmakers that "... within the imperial domain of Virginia, lie, almost unknown to the outside world and not fully appreciated by their owners, vaster fields of coal and iron than all England, nay, than all Europe."

He told the legislators that alongside the coal was a natural abundance of cheap labor to mine it.

Imboden also said the railroads were shaping up to be the dominant and "controlling power" of the nation and the richer coal and iron states can "rely upon the aid and cooperation of the railroad power of the country to foster their industries."

Imboden then devoted himself to inviting the railroads and mineral investors to come in and buy up the coal and timber lands for as little as 35 to 50 cents an acre—for, as he said, the value of the vast coal fields was "not fully appreciated by their owners." Along the way, Imboden amassed a small fortune of his own.

Today, the beneficiaries of Appalachia's great timber and mineral wealth are a tightly linked chain of railroad men, industrialists, and financiers in New York, Philadelphia, and half a dozen other Northern cities.

In Dickinson County, for example, the vast majority of the wealth is controlled by the Clinchfield Coal Company and Appalachian Power Company.

Watch how the chain grows from here.

Clinchfield Coal Company, the nation's third largest producer of bituminous coal, is owned by the Pittsburgh-based Pittston Company. Pittston President Carlos Routh and Charles T. Hill, a Pittston director, are both board

members of the Allegheny Corporation, a mammoth holding company which wheels and deals in the stocks of other corporations.

F. M. Kirby II of New York is president and chairman of Allegheny. He also sits on the board of Pittston. He and another Allegheny director, Daniel Taylor, are directors of Penn-Central Railroad, of which Stuart Saunders is president.

Stuart Saunders is a board member of the Penn-Virginia Corporation, a vast land-holding corporation which regularly turns over a net profit in excess of 60 percent. Compare this to the ten percent margin of healthy General Motors.

The profits of Penn-Virginia are swollen by a rich coal depletion allowance and another blessing, a little-known loophole in the tax laws that gives capital gains treatment to royalties earned from coal lands.

Penn-Virginia leases a lot of coal lands and it is this preferred tax rate that jacks its corporate earnings to the highest level in the United States.

In addition to its land leasing, Penn-Virginia owns 38.7 percent of Westmoreland Corporation, which last year acquired the huge holdings of Boston-based C. H. Sprague and Son Coal Sales Division to become the nation's fourth largest coal producer.

In Wise County, which borders Dickinson County, Westmoreland operates the Wentz Mine, producer of the world's highest-grade bituminous coal. The company estimates that the mine has a 20-year life expectancy at the rate of one million tons of premium coal per year—for its upper seam. Below that is another with an estimated 73 million to 74 million tons of recoverable reserves.

Selling that coal is no problem either. The Wentz Mine has a ten-year contract to supply to United States Steel Corporation.

Stuart Saunders, board member of Westmoreland's parent corporation, is a director of U.S. Steel. He also sits on the board of Georgia-Pacific Corporation, a huge lumber- and land-holding company which owns 4.5 million acres, much of which is in the coal-producing region of Appalachia, containing 234 million tons of known recoverable coal reserves.

Georgia-Pacific leases land in Buchanan County, which also adjoins Dickinson, to Island Creek Coal Company, the nation's third largest coal producer. Island Creek is owned by Occidental Petroleum.

Oil and coal once saw each other as rivals. No more.

Oil is big on coal these days. Faced with an ever diminishing reserve, the large oil companies have begun buying into the coal industry. Consolidation Coal Company, the largest, is now owned by Continental Oil Company and is speeding along a government-subsidized program to convert coal into gasoline.

The pilot conversion plant in Cresap, West Virginia, is reportedly only a penny per gallon away from oil's



The only hang-up with automation is that it put tens of thousands of miners out of work

production costs. Acquisition of coal properties promises an extended life for the relatively hard-pressed oil companies. The BTU content of Consolidation's reserve of six billion tons of coal is equal to about two-thirds of the liquid petroleum reserve for the entire nation.

The ubiquitous Stuart Saunders and W. F. Brinley, Sr. (another Philadelphian who is senior vice president of both Westmoreland Coal and its parent, Penn-Virginia Corporation) are both directors of Dominion Bank Shares. That is the umbrella corporation which controls major banks in virtually every major city and town in the Virginia Appalachians.

The board room of Dominion Bank Shares brings together the General Assembly, the largest newspaper holding company in the state, and the commonwealth's lone land-grant university, Virginia Polytechnic Institute. VPI operates all the state's extension services and a mining engineering department which cooperates heavily with the larger coal companies.

Penn-Central's Saunders isn't the only railroad man on the board of Dominion Bank Shares. He is joined there by Herman Pevler, Norfolk and Western vice president and director, and Henry C. Wyatt, president of the Wheeling and Lake Erie Railroad, which is leased by N&W.

The N&W recently teamed up with Clinchfield Coal and the Appalachian Power Company for one of the nation's most ambitious mining projects—Clinchfield's

Moss Number Three mine, which is located at Carbo, on the Dickinson County border.

The Moss Number Three property spans 40 square miles and is possibly the largest and potentially the richest coal property in the United States. The largest of its eleven seams, the Tiller, is ten to twenty feet thick and covers two layers. The mine is so huge that men and machinery travel one to two miles under the mountain before they get to their work area.

In the advanced mining areas, the men work six 20-foot tunnels which are laced by underground streets and avenues. The mountain is held up by 80-foot pillars cut into the coal.

Shortly after the mine opened, it was turning out 25,000 tons of coal per day, within a ton a day of the nation's most productive mines.

Pittston was helped along in the huge project by Appalachian Power, which opened a 675,000 kilowatt generating plant a few miles away. To keep the plant operating, the power company signed a 50-year contract for 100 million tons of coal. Appalachian Power's president is Donald C. Cook, also president of 20 other power, coal, and land companies in half a dozen southern and midwestern states.

Norfolk and Western Railroad, meanwhile, invested 50 million dollars in special rolling stock, trackage, and a 75-foot tunnel running under the mountain and right up to Moss Number Three's work area.



Figure 1. A person sitting on a large, dark, textured object, possibly a rock or a large piece of furniture.

The first part of the study was a pilot study. The purpose of the pilot study was to determine the feasibility of the study and to estimate the sample size required for the main study. The pilot study was conducted with 10 participants. The results of the pilot study showed that the study was feasible and that the sample size required for the main study was 30 participants. The second part of the study was the main study. The main study was conducted with 30 participants. The results of the main study showed that the study was feasible and that the sample size required for the main study was 30 participants. The results of the main study also showed that the study was feasible and that the sample size required for the main study was 30 participants.

The results of the main study showed that the study was feasible and that the sample size required for the main study was 30 participants. The results of the main study also showed that the study was feasible and that the sample size required for the main study was 30 participants. The results of the main study also showed that the study was feasible and that the sample size required for the main study was 30 participants. The results of the main study also showed that the study was feasible and that the sample size required for the main study was 30 participants. The results of the main study also showed that the study was feasible and that the sample size required for the main study was 30 participants.

Pittston's investment in the mine was more than 35 million dollars—and an additional 11 million dollars for an eight-story processing plant.

Since the mine opened in 1958, N&W has moved its giant coal car repair shop to the complex.

Norfolk and Western is about to merge with the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad to form the nation's largest coal-hauling line and one of America's two largest railroads. The largest is Saunders' Penn-Central.

The chairman of the board of the C&O is Cyrus Eaton. Eaton was once very tight with John L. Lewis, recently departed patriarch of the United Mine Workers Union.

It appears that in the early days of the unusual friendship Eaton schooled Lewis in the fine points of capital investment. In return, John L., the two-fisted, tough-talking labor pioneer, helped maintain labor peace in Eaton's network of companies.

Somewhere during the interchange, the UMW, once the champion of the coal miners against the colonizers, evolved into a partner in plunder.

Over the years, the UMW has purchased heavily in the stock of the C&O and has made its funds available for a number of Eaton's investment ventures.

In the 1950's, Eaton acted as a front man in the UMW's unprecedented takeover of West Kentucky Coal Company, operator of mines in three states. Eaton became chairman of West Kentucky Coal in 1953.

Over the next three years, the UMW poured 25 million dollars into its company, all through loans to Eaton which kept the union's name off the company's books. The union put up a seven-million-dollar loan to the Cleveland industrialist to buy out the Nashville Coal Company, which was promptly merged with West Kentucky.

Through West Kentucky, the union-turned-big-business moved to corner the market on the Tennessee Valley Authority, the nation's largest coal consumer. To this end, West Kentucky entered into a cozy relationship with giant Peabody Coal, another major supplier of the TVA. The power giant, meanwhile, seemed more interested in acquiring cheap coal than in spreading its business around the region it was created to revitalize.

Another huge supplier of the TVA was the Kentucky Oak Mining Company, a non-union strip miner operating in the hills of Eastern Kentucky.

Strip mining is the process by which a coal operator comes in with a couple of bulldozers, an immense power shovel, and a few pneumatic drills. He peels away the fertile topsoil, bulldozes out the trees and other vegetation, pushes aside the sterile subsoil, stone, and slate. A seam of coal thus bared, the strip miner gouges it out, loads it on trucks, and carries it away.

The tremendous waste, which once was a lush green hillside, is haphazardly dumped back in the gorge or is left uncovered. Sulfur is usually found with coal. Now

exposed, it mixes with the water to form toxic sulfuric acid. It bleeds into the streams and creeks, destroying all forms of life and polluting the drinking supply.

The solid rubble is washed down the hillside, eroding everything in its path, including fertile farmland. Silt fills the streams, causing them to back up and overflow their banks.

Needless to say, the process is highly unpopular with the natives. There have been some efforts on state and federal levels to regulate strip mining, but, for the most part, they have been ineffectual and half-hearted.

More effective in recent years has been a series of daring midnight raids by aroused Kentuckians who have blown strip-mining equipment out of existence.

When Bill Sturgill, owner of the Kentucky Oak strip-mining outfit, won his contracts with the TVA, he bought coal-land leases from the North Fork Coal Company, which had purchased that land with a 1.5 million dollar loan from the UMW-controlled National Bank of Washington. The UMW owns 77 percent of the bank, the third largest in the nation's capital.

The union certainly could have blocked the sale of those land leases to a non-union operator, but it opted to solidify its business interests.

Another interesting thing happened on the way to the TVA market. In 1955, UMW men were waging a life-or-death strike against a number of coal operators in the Sequatchie Valley of Tennessee, an area which hitherto has been a prime source of TVA coal.

The strikers set up a picket line which successfully blocked overland shipments of coal to the TVA—thus increasing the pressure on management to settle.

But, as the strike progressed, barges began carrying coal down the Tennessee River, right past the miners, who mobilized a naval picket line. The picket line was ignored and the Sequatchie operators eventually lost the TVA market and closed down. Hundreds of union men were put out of work.

The barges which crossed the picket lines were operated by the American Coal Shipping Company, 33 percent owned by the UMW. The coal they carried was produced by John L.'s West Kentucky Coal.

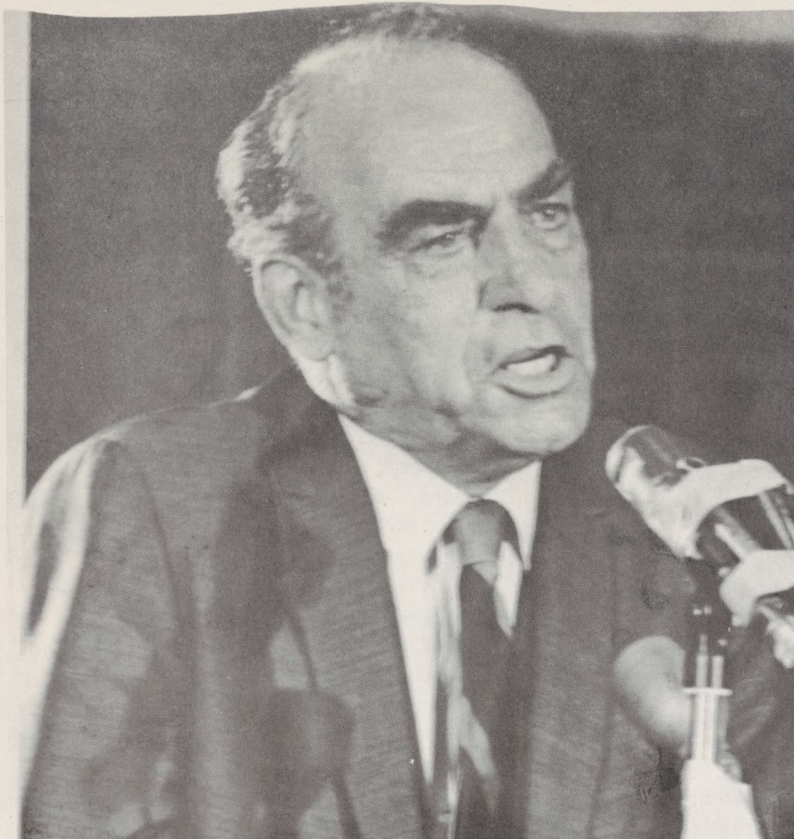
Judas wore bushy eyebrows that year.

Even if the union didn't use its millions to expand its interests in the coal industry, it would still be inextricably tied to the interests of management.

Since 1952, the UMW has been receiving a 40-cent royalty for every ton of coal produced in mines operated under a union contract. This big slice of the pie was apparently the union's reward for its support of the rapid automation which converted the industry from a dying dinosaur in the 1950s to a spritely and highly profitable green giant during the past decade.

The only hang-up with automation is that it put tens of thousands of miners out of work.

Lewis anticipated the tremendous layoffs that accom-



Joseph A. Yablonski represented a move towards democracy within the UMW. The undemocratic machine set up by Lewis and advanced by Boyle was voted down by near 80% of working miners in the December 1969 election. Yablonski was killed by Boyle cohorts after he moved to expose illegal and anti-miner dealings by the UMW bureaucracy.

panied the changeover, but he said it would be wiser for a small number of men to make a large salary (UMW members are among the highest-paid blue-collar workers in the nation), than for the industry to price itself out of competition and collapse.

However, the UMW took an indifferent stance toward its members who were left jobless and who were denied an opportunity to ratify their union's new thrust.

At no time did the union use its fantastic reserves to bring new industry into the mountain area or to retrain its men for other high-paying jobs. Nor did the union use its tremendous influence to encourage the coal operators to take a similar step.

Instead, the UMW's Health and Welfare Fund began drafting arbitrary and restrictive bylaws designed to strip these unfortunate castoffs of their benefits. The result was that men who carried a union card for 30 or 40 years, who risked beatings and economic reprisals to join the union in its early days, were now jobless, with no health insurance, pensions, or death benefits.

Last year, a group of coal miners and widows of coal-mine workers filed a 75-million-dollar suit designed to put an end to such practices, to take the Health and Welfare Fund out of the hands of the men who run it, and to win compensation for damages the plaintiffs claim.

The UMW, the Welfare and Retirement Fund, the National Bank of Washington, and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association were named as defendants. The suit alleged that the defendants "willfully defrauded" and betrayed the union's rank and file for their own profit.

Union President W. A. (Tony) Boyle, Vice President George Titler, and General Counsel Edward L. Carey were among those specifically cited as defendants.

Among the charges listed in the 37-page complaint is an allegation that the fund's trustees deprived it of some 10 million to 25 million dollars by depositing between 40 million and 100 million dollars a year over the last five years in interest-free accounts in the union-owned bank.

The plaintiffs have asked the U.S. District Court in Washington to place the 179-million-dollar fund in federal receivership to prevent further "plunder" of its assets.

The suit also cited "unreasonable, arbitrary, and capricious" rules and regulations "hostile" to the plaintiffs and designed to deny them of their rightfully accrued benefits. It asked for a court order abrogating these fund ground rules.

But the wheels of the courts grind slowly. And, even if the plaintiffs win their suit, the impact on solving Appalachia's problems will be marginal.

The nub of these problems is that an estimated half trillion dollars worth of raw materials have been carted out of the mountains over the last 85 years without compensation to the region.

These resources have provided the power for the fantastic industrial growth of the United States. Meanwhile, the people of Appalachia subsist in squalor, the lid held tightly in place by a political oligarchy that makes Boss Tweed look like a Sunday school teacher.

In the early boom days of mining, the companies

maintained tight discipline with an army of heavily-armed thugs. The companies openly flaunted their political power.

But, like colonizers the world over, they have learned that it is too expensive—in money and image—to blatantly rule by force.

So, instead, they have cultivated a handful of natives to assume their role and look out for their political interests.

It is not in the interest of the colonizers for the majority to be well educated. An educated public might demand an end to colonial domination.

The coal companies are well served by a network of railroads, so it is not in their interest for good highways to be built. These would encourage industrial development and break coal's monopoly on the labor force as well as dilute its power.

It is not in their interest for the lawmakers to pass effective compensation laws to protect the men working in the world's most dangerous profession, laws which would send compensation insurance rates soaring.

See how the coal interests are served.

In Willie Vest's Dickinson County the schools are terrible. Former Delegate Rufus McCoy, a maverick Republican who scored a stunning upset victory at the polls five years ago but was defeated last fall, tells the story of an honors graduate of the local high school who couldn't get into the college of his choice because he lacked an accredited mathematics course.

Rufus McCoy is a retired miner and schoolteacher. At 70, he is straight and lean, his face lined and weathered. To get to his house you drive up a corkscrew mountain road until you reach the top. Then you turn right and drive up what may be the bumpiest road in America to the top of a hill on top of the mountain. There Rufus lives with his wife in a cozy home that lacks indoor plumbing.

It's a peaceful place. Quiet, except for the sounds of birds and crickets. The view stretches out for miles in every direction. It's a good place for a man to spend his retirement and Rufus finds great contentment there.

He doesn't like Richmond, the state capital. He finds the city of 250,000 too dirty and too crowded. People don't take the time to get to know one another there. Yet, he was drawn to his duties as a lawmaker with a sense of mission.

"Someone's got to look out for the little people," he says. "No one has ever done it here before."

But as a populist Republican in Byrdland his frustration was heavy. He had no real power, so, rather than fear him, the conservative Democratic majority humored him—and, finally, saw him ousted. The capital press corps, which often seems to be the bride of the established political order, called him "colorful" and dismissed him at that.

But Delegate McCoy kept on plugging.

He wants new industry to locate in the county, but "no company will come into Dickinson County and locate here until we can get a highway. We have the raw materials—timber, coal, water power. It would be ideal for a furniture factory. But how are we going to get the finished product out?"

He also says the county needs to begin giving its young people the skills that would make the area more attractive. But he has a gloomy story to tell about his efforts to get a technical trade school located in the county.

During the first of his two terms in the legislature, he went to the head of the technical division of the Virginia Department of Education and sold him on the idea of locating a one-million-dollar vocational high school in the county.

"He told me all that was needed now was for the superintendent of schools to come around and follow up on it. I practically begged him [the superintendent] to do it. But he could never find the time. He was too busy running around lobbying against free lunches and free text books."

McCoy's predecessor in the House of Delegates was Dr. William Elliott, who for many years was Clinchfield's part-time company doctor at Moss Number Three mine. Elliott, who is also head of the area's largest hospital, served seven two-year terms before McCoy edged him out in 1965 and then beat back a comeback effort in 1967.

In 1958, Elliott successfully offered a bill to have pneumoconiosis, the dreaded black-lung disease that reduces miners to wheezing, smothering invalids, stricken from the list of occupational ailments for which a miner may draw compensation.

He then encored this effort by blocking a bill to restore the compensatory status of the disease. The good doctor's argument was that the disease which is caused by coal dust lodged in the miner's lungs is "theoretical." Consequently, he said his legal handiwork took nothing from the miners.

Interestingly, Dr. Elliott's work with black lung came at a time when the large operators were switching to lobster-like continuous mining machines which kicked up more coal dust than ever before.

John Tiller, a foreman for Moss Number Three, speaks of a "conspiracy to keep us uninformed about black lung."

"They used to tell us that coal dust couldn't hurt you and I used to turn around and mouth it to the workers. And the worst part of it is that the doctors in the area are still involved in a conspiracy. Tomorrow, if I'm in trouble, there isn't a doctor in the state who'll tell me the truth. I'd have to go clear over to West Virginia."

... Tiller has become something of a rebel—talking about mine safety, the state of the schools, the oppres-

siveness of county police, and the welfare system.

He says he told "some ugly truths about the master/slave relationship around here" and, as a result, fell victim to a vicious red-baiting campaign that left him and Catherine, his wife, isolated from the rest of the community.

Last January, on a bitter cold afternoon, he was stopped on an isolated mountain road by a group of men he says were sheriff's deputies and was beaten bloody. They told him to keep his mouth shut.

At work, he hears very little from the company bosses about his political views.

"Sure they know about it. But I know coal and I know how to get it out of the ground cheaply and efficiently. So they put up with what I have to say," he says.

"But the thing that hurts is that they knew I was beaten up and they know who did it. But not one of the bosses had the decency to say one word about it, not even 'I'm sorry it happened.'"

After his surprising 1965 victory over Elliott, McCoy tried introducing a bill to once again include black lung as a compensatory ailment. But, as soon as it was introduced, Elliott and William Battle were in Richmond lobbying against the bill. Their efforts were successful.

During the next two years, the public became increasingly knowledgeable about black lung and the opponents of compensation backed off—allowing McCoy to get through a token bill which, by his own admission, is too weak to have a broad effect.

McCoy is no longer in the House of Delegates. Last year, his seat was won by Olney W. Edwards, a Democrat and a merchant. As a rookie in the House of Delegates, Edwards pulled surprisingly good committee assignments: Conservation and Natural Resources; Mining and Mineral Resources; and Militia and Police.

The real power in Dickinson County has long been 85-year-old State Senator M. M. Long, who represents Dickinson, Wise, and Russell counties and the city of Norton. Together, the three counties produce the bulk of the coal in the nation's sixth-ranking coal-production state.

To understand the breadth of Long's power in the affairs of Virginia, it is necessary to understand the way the commonwealth's political system operates.

The General Assembly meets every two years for 60 days. During that period there is very little time for the lawmakers to do heavy research into impending legislation.

What has evolved is a kind of feudal situation in which the lawmakers, some of whom have lifetime seats, approve the legislation and appointments concerning their own districts.

Over the years, this has been refined to a point where a lawmaker need never take a public stand on an issue. All he has to do is let his position be known to a key

member of a committee studying a bill concerning his district, and his will will be done.

And not so much as a blotch on his voting record!

Such was the case in 1964, when Long went behind the scenes to use his influence to block a bill that would have taxed the coal companies for the natural resources they remove from the state.

Over his 25 years as a senator, Long has amassed a powerful influence with the highway department. This influence is not reflected in Dickinson County's roads. Only a narrow two-lane highway, more suitable for a roller coaster than for an automobile, connects the county with the world around.

The place where Long's power is really felt by his constituents is in his appointment of Circuit Court judges. His district is his fiefdom; the governor appoints, and the legislature approves, the senator's choice.

Among the judicial nominations secured by Senator M. M. Long was one for M. M. Long, Jr., now circuit judge for Wise County and the city of Norton.

The circuit judge in Dickinson County is Glyn R. Phillips. Under Virginia law, the circuit judge has broad appointive powers which in other parts of the country are usually held by elected officials. Judge Phillips appoints electoral boards which, among other things, choose the county welfare and school boards.

Both the welfare and school systems have come under harsh fire from many local citizens who claim that they dehumanize the poor and are agencies of political payoff.

There is little hanky-panky going on in Dickinson County that can be proved in court, particularly if the court is Judge Phillips's. But, if smoke is any indication of fire, something is burning in Dickinson County.

Rufus McCoy says the Welfare Department is rife with political favoritism. He says those who cooperate with the so-called "courthouse gang" get jobs in the department or find it much easier to get on the welfare rolls.

McCoy, who's not taken to hip shooting, says some welfare workers will "abuse the man and talk to him like he's lower, well, like he's an animal or something."

Dickinson County is a small place, population 18,000; everybody knows everyone else's politics. And Rufus McCoy suggests that there's a relationship between the way a man votes and the size of his welfare check.

John Tiller's accusations are even stronger. He says that children are taken from their parents as a punitive measure.

One young black man who lives with his sister in Dickinson County's dismal ghetto says he was given a wad of "five tightly-wrapped one-dollar bills" to vote for the courthouse gang in the 1968 election.

After he cast his bought vote, he says he began having misgivings and talking to others about the way he and a number of other blacks had sold out their community.

1. The first part of the paper discusses the importance of understanding the underlying mechanisms of the observed phenomena. It highlights the need for a comprehensive theoretical framework that can account for the complex interactions between various factors.

2. The second part of the paper presents a detailed analysis of the experimental data. It shows that the results are consistent with the theoretical predictions, but there are some discrepancies that need to be investigated further.

3. The third part of the paper discusses the implications of the findings for future research. It suggests that further studies should focus on the development of more sophisticated models and the use of advanced experimental techniques.

4. The fourth part of the paper discusses the potential applications of the research findings. It suggests that the results could be used to develop new materials or technologies that have a wide range of practical uses.

5. The fifth part of the paper discusses the limitations of the current study. It points out that the sample size was relatively small and that the experimental conditions were not fully controlled.

6. The sixth part of the paper discusses the future directions of the research. It suggests that further studies should be conducted to explore the underlying mechanisms of the observed phenomena in more detail.

7. The seventh part of the paper discusses the conclusions of the study. It states that the results provide strong evidence for the proposed theoretical framework, but more research is needed to confirm these findings.

8. The eighth part of the paper discusses the acknowledgments. It thanks the funding agencies and the colleagues who provided support and assistance during the course of the research.

9. The ninth part of the paper discusses the references. It lists the key papers and books that were consulted during the preparation of the manuscript.

10. The tenth part of the paper discusses the appendices. It includes supplementary information that is relevant to the main text of the paper.

11. The eleventh part of the paper discusses the index. It provides a list of the key terms and concepts used in the paper, along with their corresponding page numbers.

12. The twelfth part of the paper discusses the glossary. It defines the key terms and concepts used in the paper, ensuring that they are understood in the same way by all readers.

13. The thirteenth part of the paper discusses the bibliography. It lists the key papers and books that were consulted during the preparation of the manuscript.

14. The fourteenth part of the paper discusses the appendix. It includes supplementary information that is relevant to the main text of the paper.

15. The fifteenth part of the paper discusses the conclusion. It summarizes the main findings of the study and states the overall conclusions.

16. The sixteenth part of the paper discusses the acknowledgments. It thanks the funding agencies and the colleagues who provided support and assistance during the course of the research.

17. The seventeenth part of the paper discusses the references. It lists the key papers and books that were consulted during the preparation of the manuscript.

18. The eighteenth part of the paper discusses the appendices. It includes supplementary information that is relevant to the main text of the paper.

19. The nineteenth part of the paper discusses the index. It provides a list of the key terms and concepts used in the paper, along with their corresponding page numbers.

20. The twentieth part of the paper discusses the glossary. It defines the key terms and concepts used in the paper, ensuring that they are understood in the same way by all readers.

21. The twenty-first part of the paper discusses the bibliography. It lists the key papers and books that were consulted during the preparation of the manuscript.

22. The twenty-second part of the paper discusses the appendix. It includes supplementary information that is relevant to the main text of the paper.

23. The twenty-third part of the paper discusses the conclusion. It summarizes the main findings of the study and states the overall conclusions.

24. The twenty-fourth part of the paper discusses the acknowledgments. It thanks the funding agencies and the colleagues who provided support and assistance during the course of the research.

25. The twenty-fifth part of the paper discusses the references. It lists the key papers and books that were consulted during the preparation of the manuscript.

26. The twenty-sixth part of the paper discusses the appendices. It includes supplementary information that is relevant to the main text of the paper.

27. The twenty-seventh part of the paper discusses the index. It provides a list of the key terms and concepts used in the paper, along with their corresponding page numbers.

28. The twenty-eighth part of the paper discusses the glossary. It defines the key terms and concepts used in the paper, ensuring that they are understood in the same way by all readers.

29. The twenty-ninth part of the paper discusses the bibliography. It lists the key papers and books that were consulted during the preparation of the manuscript.

30. The thirtieth part of the paper discusses the appendix. It includes supplementary information that is relevant to the main text of the paper.

A short time later, he said, the Welfare Department began bothering his sister about the way she was raising her children. Those youngsters are now in foster homes.

John Tiller says this practice is widespread. He says foster parents get relatively good money for opening their homes and, in the impoverished mountains, this is used as a payoff.

As people have become more and more disenchanted with the local Democratic Party, Long's power has been eroding. In 1967, he received opposition from within the party for the first time, and, after a hard-fought win in the local convention, he squeaked out a narrow victory.

The GOP charged fraud in Dickinson and a number of surrounding counties. After a hue and cry, Gov. Mills E. Godwin, Jr., dispatched two state police officers to assist Commonwealth's Attorney L. Victor McFall in the Dickinson County investigation.

At question was a batch of mail ballots, about one-third the total number of votes cast, which the Republicans said were bogus.

During the investigation, Judge Phillips issued a memorandum to stop a check of the mail ballots by the two state policemen. The judge's rationale was that the two law officers "kept pestering me with questions I thought should not be answered unless the questions were presented to me in a legal manner."

He also cited a Virginia law which said election ballots must be safely kept for twelve months following each election. Judge Phillips said the memo was not a legal order but a position statement. If the investigating officers want to see the ballots, he said, they would have to file a petition "with my court and present evidence showing why they should have the records."

Rather than challenge Judge Phillips in a higher court, Commonwealth's Attorney McFall (who once was Phillips's law partner) agreed to abide by the judge's decision.

In characteristic fashion, the governor withheld public comment and the matter quietly died.

But the vote fraud charges were brought up again when the General Assembly reconvened. Under pressure from a small but vocal GOP minority, the House Election Committee held a hearing that saw Senator M. M. Long testify on behalf of Judge Phillips.

Long said the judge upheld the law and "was acting perfectly properly in seeing that no one had access to ballots in a case under investigation."

After hearing charges and countercharges, Long's crony, Committee Chairman James M. Thomson, said of the fraud allegations: "Would you say this is what the Germans called the big lie?"

"That is what I would say," said Long, and the matter was laid to rest.

Thomson, incidentally, is a board member of Dominion Bank Shares, which controls the First National Ex-

change Bank of St. Paul. M. M. Long and M. M. Long, Jr., are directors of the St. Paul bank and Long's son-in-law, James A. Muse, is president.

Rufus McCoy says that the average Appalachian man "doesn't know what's due him and he'll just lay down and take what they give him."

This is perhaps the worst aspect of the colonization of Appalachia. Deprived of his economic and political self-determination, his life style slowly eroded, the mountain man is buffeted by cruel circumstances and his manhood is challenged daily.

When Rufus McCoy's grandfather was a boy, folks in Appalachia were totally self-reliant. They worked hard growing their food and tobacco, grew flax, made their own clothes, tanned hides, and cobbled their own shoes.

The coal mines came just as people were making a transition from an every-man-for-himself economy to trading. There was no opportunity for the transition to be made gracefully, for the region to grope about and find its own identity in the modern world.

With the coal mine came the lure of the company store with its slick consumer goods. People flocked by the thousands to the mines and the opportunity they represented to come speeding into the twentieth century.

But, a man doesn't just pull up his roots and forget them. There are notions, ways of living, that stay with him. One such notion is that a man needs to work.

At first, the mines fit right in with it. In the early days, there was plenty of work for everyone. A man could work all day in the mines and come home in the evening and put in a vegetable garden.

He could be a good provider and this was important for him. But, along with the coal mines, almost like a plague, came debilitating injuries and illnesses.

Mining was and still is the world's most dangerous profession. Every now and then, when a hue and cry goes up about the safety conditions in the mines, Congress will react by passing an emasculated mine safety law, salving the nation's conscience for a generation.

Congress passed such a law in 1951. Since that time, more than 5,500 men have lost their lives in the mines.

In 1968, one man died for every 550 miners. How many men have been injured in the mines is an unknown factor. Over the years, the coal companies have discouraged the reporting of accidents, in order to keep down their insurance rates.

Those who were disabled were psychologically shattered by their inability to continue working. While working in the mines, they were able to provide their families with the basic necessities of life. But, unable to work anymore, they had to sit or lie back as their families moved out of their frame homes and into tarpaper shacks.

They had to suffer the indignity of going on the dole. Even though they knew in their hearts that they weren't goldbricking, they were ashamed.

Ralph Martin is a Dickinson County man who spent 32 years as a miner. During the last 15, he was a foreman for a doghole operator.

Ralph Martin loves the mines—but he can't quite put his finger on why.

"I don't know. I never thought about it. Maybe it's because of the temperature. It's cool in the mines in the summer and warm in the winter. Maybe it's because it's the work I'm good at. I don't know."

The reason no longer really matters. Ralph Martin isn't going to work again.

About four years ago, he began to feel the first symptoms of black lung. He became short of breath. He noticed that he no longer had the energy he formerly had. His condition rapidly deteriorated until walking up a flight of stairs became a chore. Nonetheless, he kept on working.

"I had an easy job and I hated to quit. I was making pretty good money [350 dollars per month], so I kept battling on with it. But I reached a point where I couldn't get out of bed."

Since he stopped working, things have become pretty tight. He has applied for workman's compensation but he is not sure he will get it. Meanwhile, he's getting along as best he can. But the helplessness of his situation has driven him to the edge of despair.

"Even though you're sick, it makes you feel ashamed. It does. The other people think you're sponging and don't want to work."

"In my case, there are people who can't see that I just couldn't work. For the last four years, I worked even though I shouldn't have been. I couldn't put my clothes on in the morning. It took me three or four times to get my shirt over my head, and then I had to stop and rest."

"I just feel like the other people don't realize that. Lots of people see you lazying around and they feel you ought to be working."

"I just can't sit still. It makes me sick to see the men go off to work in the morning. I don't even like to see my old rig. It just makes me want to go back to work."

Ralph Martin finds his inability to change things staggering. But he takes the things that happen to him completely in stride.

He talks about the coal dust that is solidifying within his lungs and smothering him as if he were talking about

the weather.

"I remember times in the mine when you couldn't see a man that was three feet away from you for the dust," he says without a trace of bitterness.

Or, talking about the minor disasters that have killed or maimed many of his co-workers, he says, "I was lucky. I never had anything happen to me other than broken ribs. I has seven of them broken on one side one time. Then I broke two of them on the other side. And I broke my left arm once. And I had a few holes knocked in my head, but they didn't amount to much."

This kind of acceptance of one's fate weighs heavily on the Appalachian people. It goes back a long time, to the era when people were dependent on the elements for existence. They took what nature dished and kept struggling. One way or another, they survived.

But, the legacy of this passive way of life makes for good colonial subjects.

John Tiller recalls that, during the recession of the late 1950's, his mine was closed down and he was among thousands who were jobless.

"When a recession like that comes, it reflects a breakdown of the system. The coal mines have always been the first to shut down when hard times came."

"But, when that kind of wholesale failure closed the mines in 1958, these men wouldn't even tell their next door neighbors that they were laid off. They took it as a sign of personal failure rather than as a breakdown of a system."

Today, Tiller says this same line of thinking is engendered by the idea that there's a job for everyone who wants one.

There are more unskilled men in Appalachia than there are jobs. So, what do they do? Instead of remedying the results of decades of exploitation, they say that those who aren't working are just plain lazy. They hand out bumper stickers saying 'I fight poverty, I work.' The whole thing's a damned obesenity."

Ralph Martin bears out what Tiller is saying. He knows his condition. He knows that he can't work and that the cards are stacked against him. He knows that his neighbors in his little shantytown want to work, too, but also can't

Yet he says, "there's plenty of work here if they want to work."



